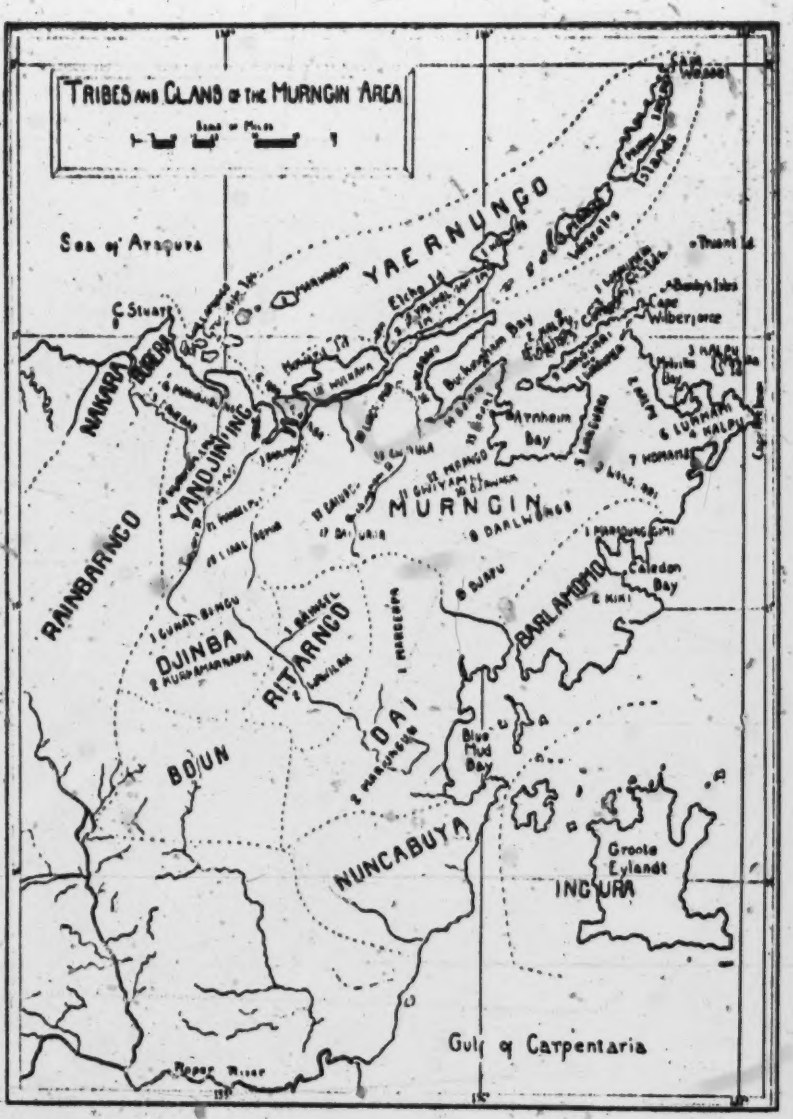
1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

102
103
614
101



3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

102
103
131
133

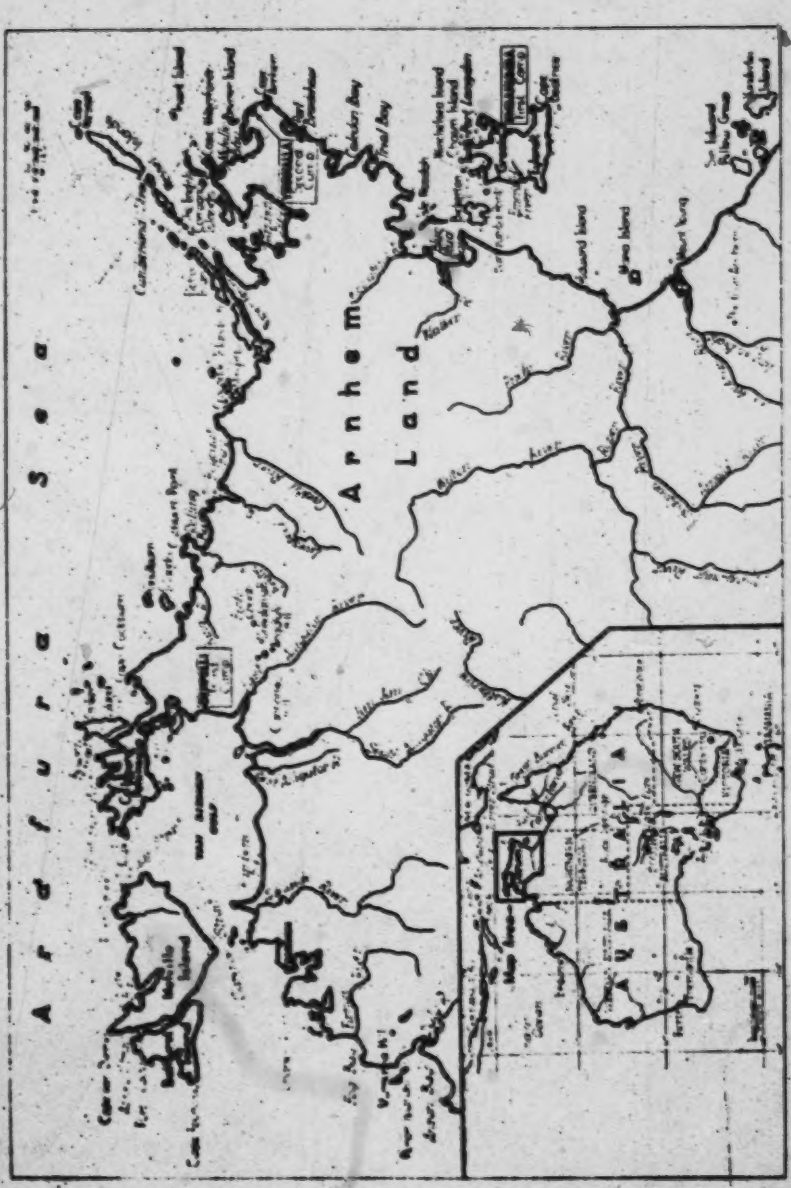


FIG. 1. Arnhem Land, showing expedition camps

102
103
131
133

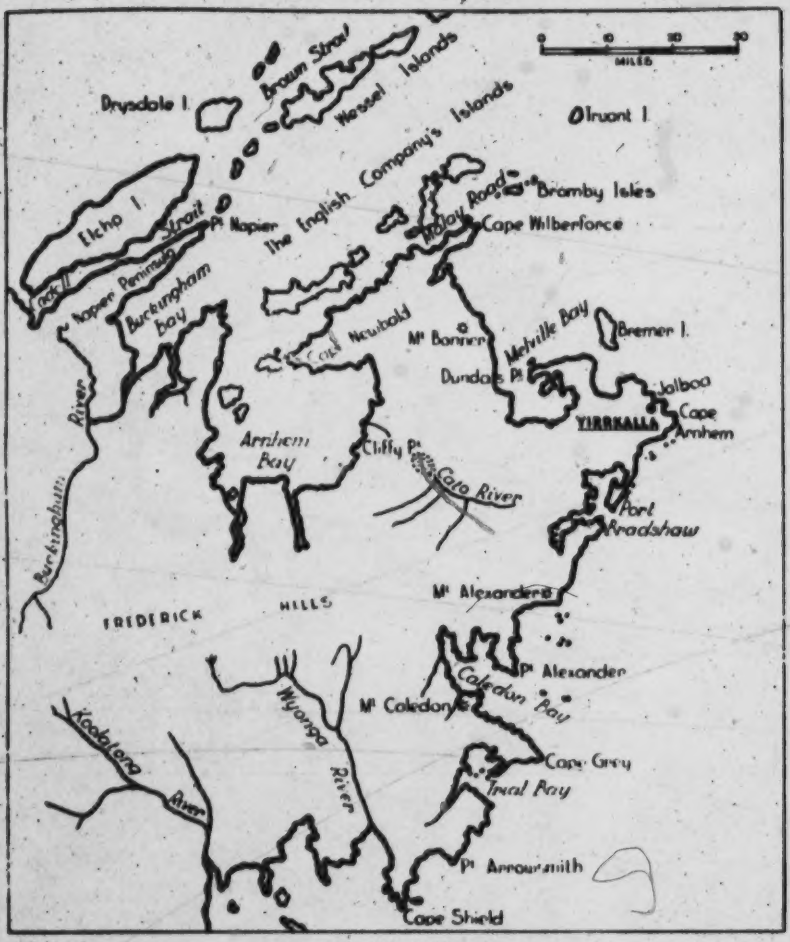


FIG. 57. Yirrkalla area

*773 The *W'awalik* myth appears to belong more particularly to the western side
778 of Arnhem Land, and the *Djunkgao* myth to the eastern. The former myth
184 appears to be the more complete; in fact, in some localities the myth of *Djunkgao* actually takes on some of the elements of that of the *W'awalik* sisters (p. 278). On the eastern side of Arnhem Land *Djunkgao* is a man; on the western side, two

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
O117 Murngin O117

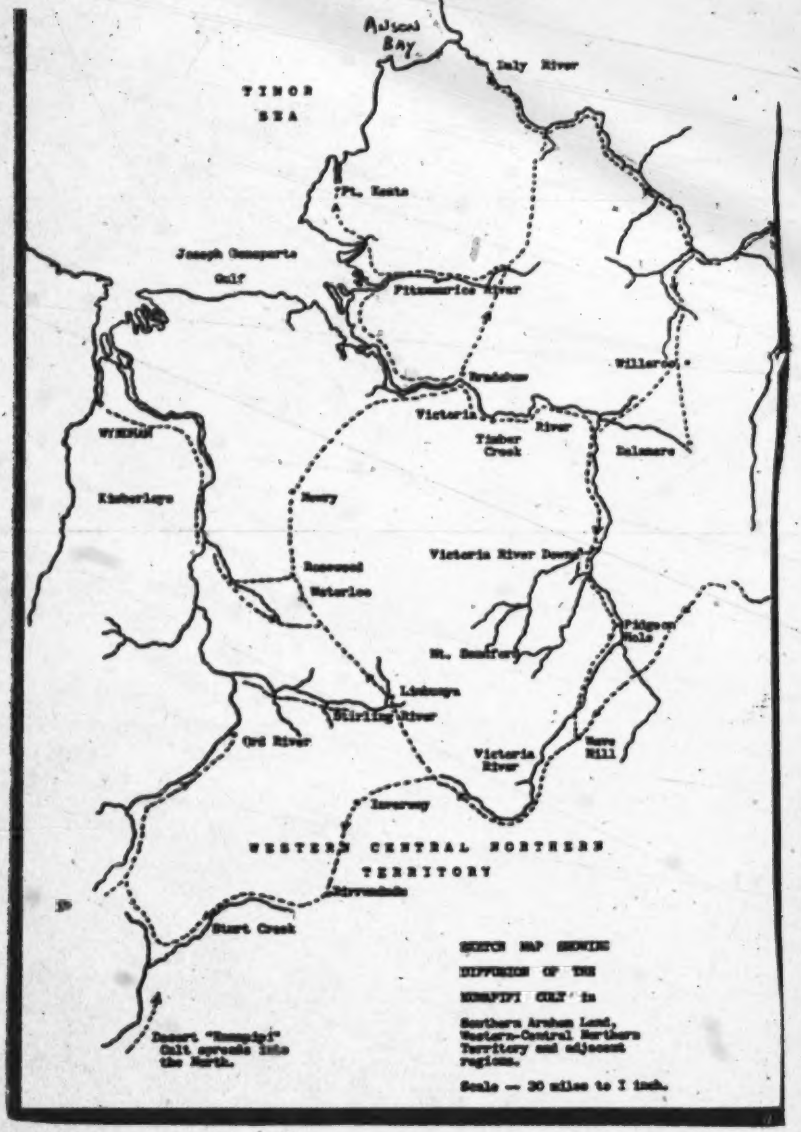
●102
133

THE ABORIGINES OF EAST ARNHEM LAND

X Proposed New Methodist Station
Present Stations: Darwin, Goulburn Island, and Milingimbi

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

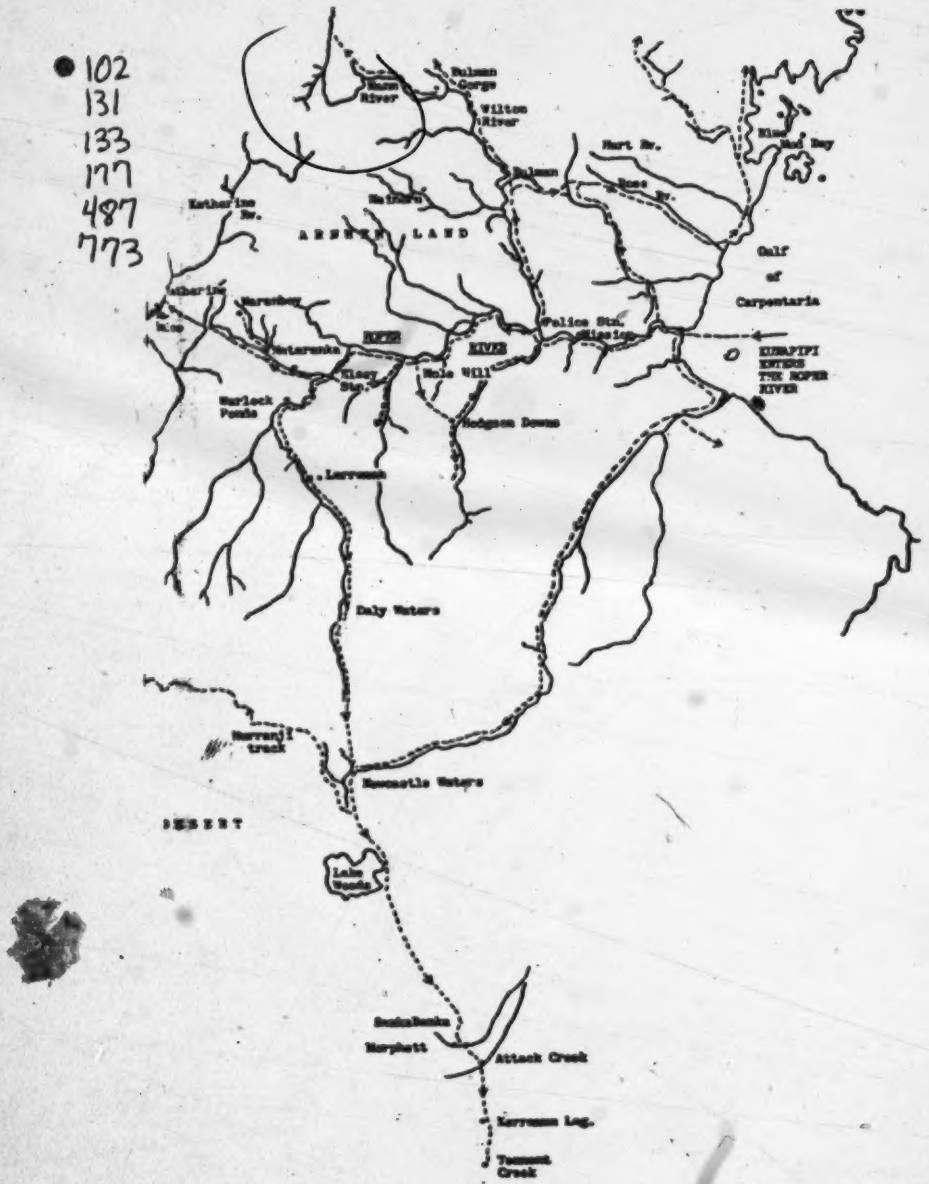
102
131
133
487
177
773



[Front End Map (A)]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

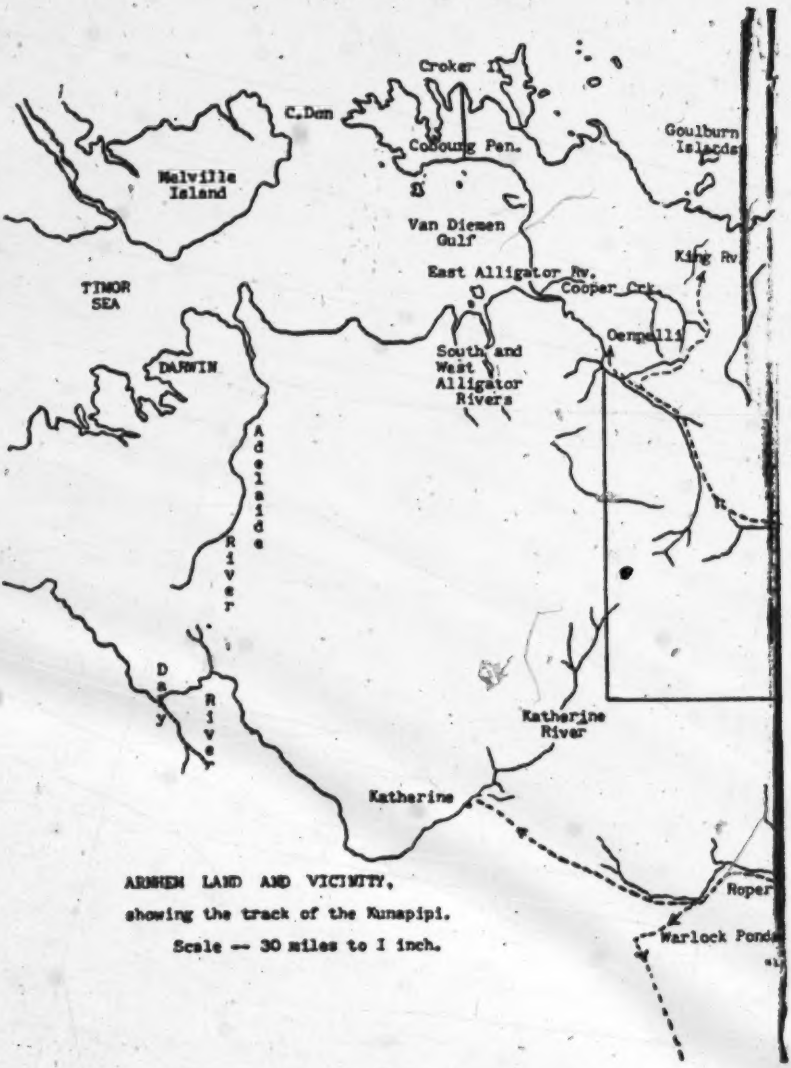
● 102
131
133
177
487
773



[Front End Map (B)]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

●102
131
133
177
487
773



ARNHEM LAND AND VICINITY,
showing the track of the Kunapipi.
Scale -- 30 miles to 1 inch.

[Back End Map (A)]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

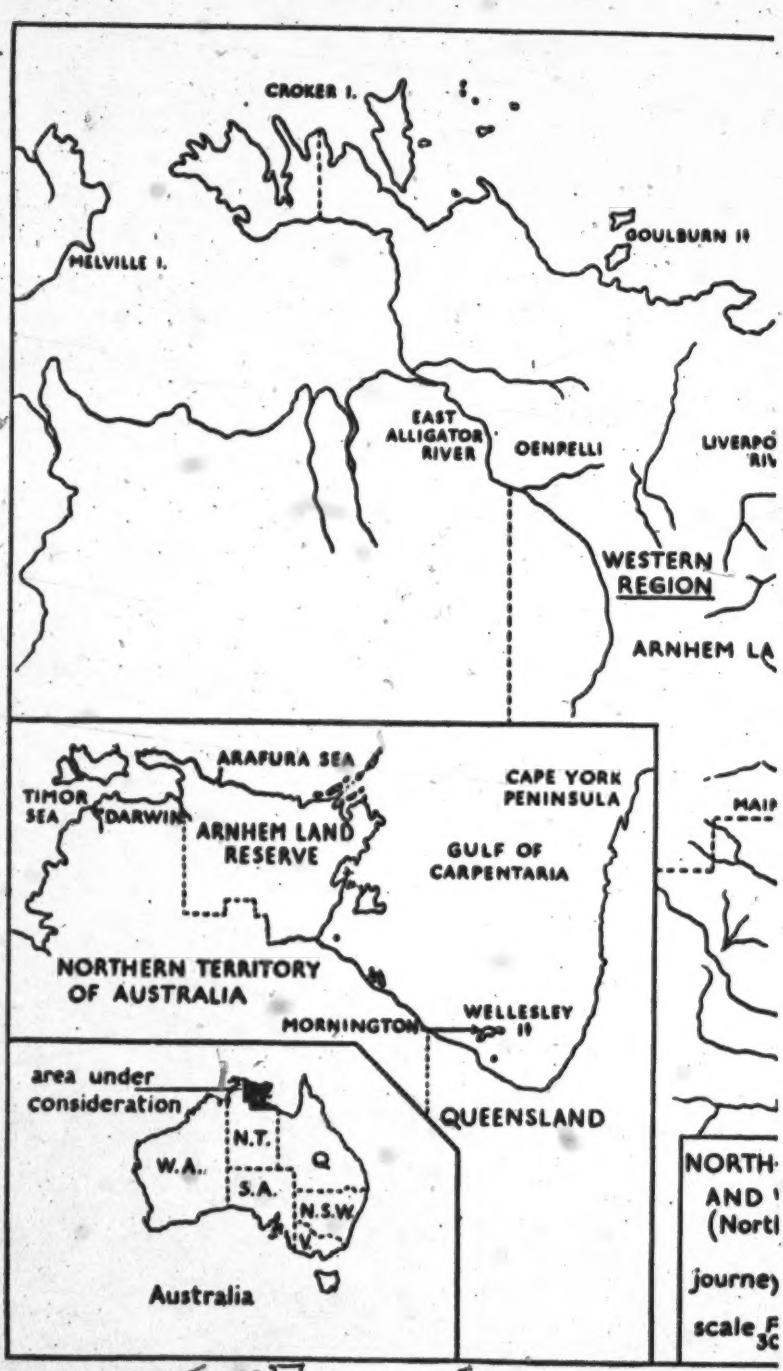
102
131
133
177
487
773

[Back End Map (B)]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952

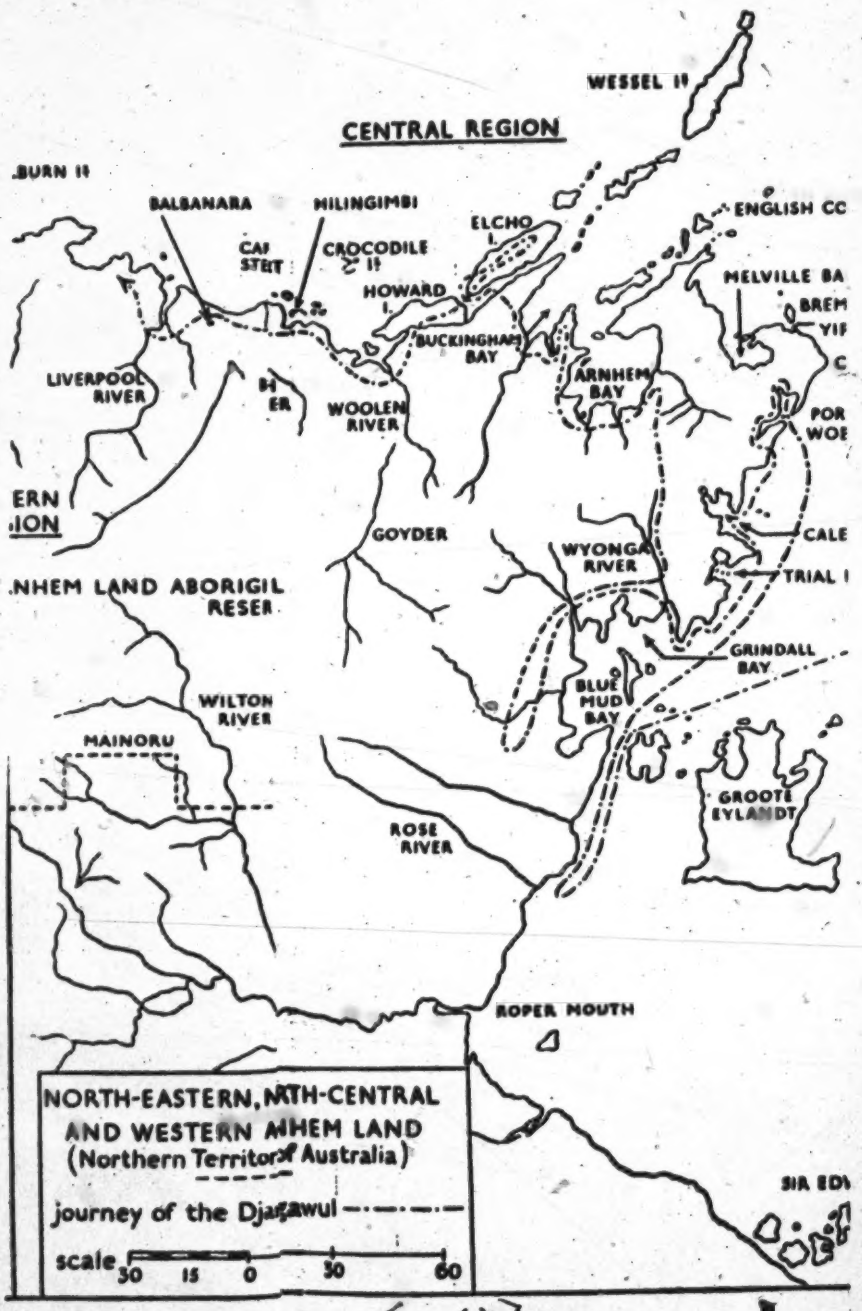
OI17 Murngin OI17

●102



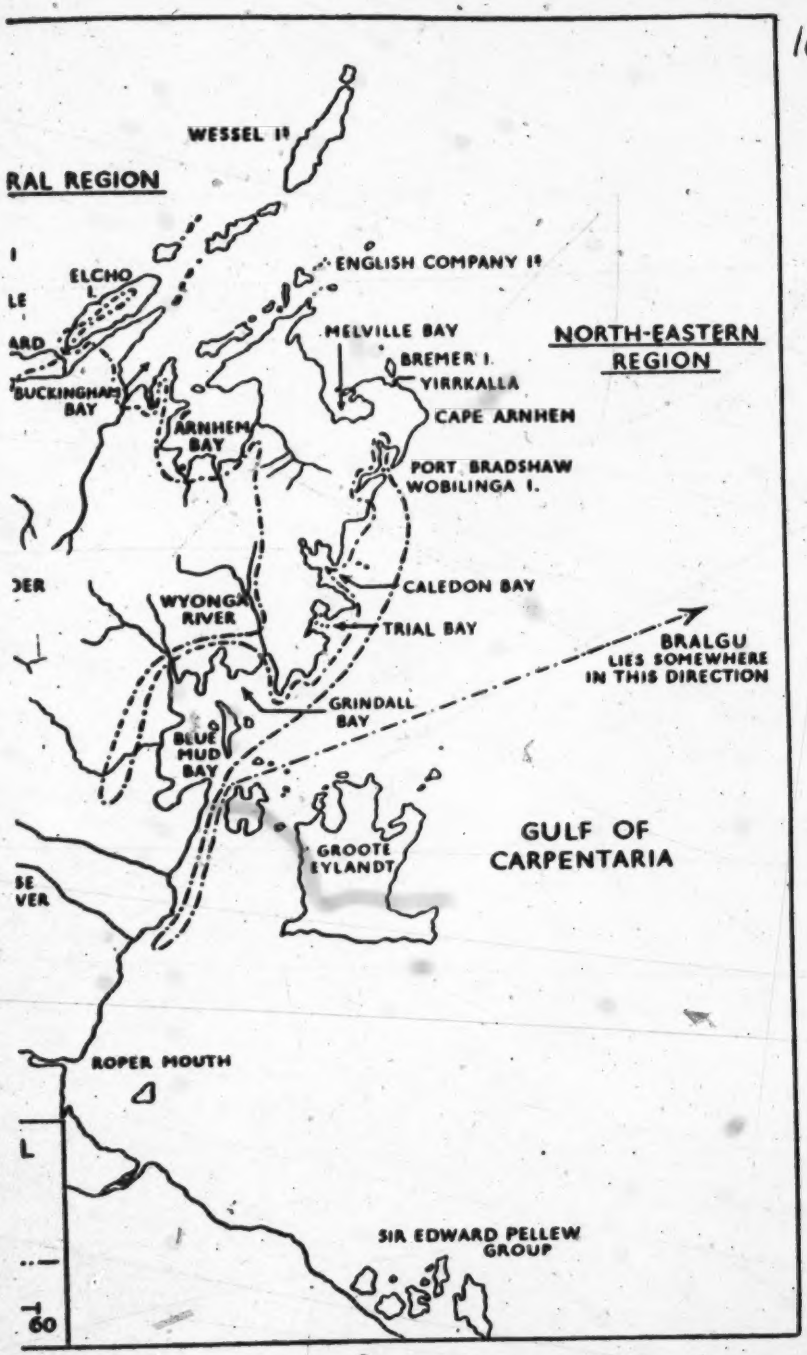
[p. 8(A)]

182


CENTRAL REGION
WESSEL IS
BURN IS
BALBANARA
MILINGIMBI
CAPE STEET
CROCODILE IS
ELCHO I.
HOWARD I.
BUCKINGHAM BAY
ENGLISH CO
MELVILLE BA
BREM
YIP
C
ARNHEM BAY
POR WOE
LIVERPOOL RIVER
WOOLEN RIVER
ERN ION
GOYDER
WYONGA RIVER
CALE
TRIAL I
NHEM LAND ABORIGIL RESER
GRINDALL BAY
BLUE MUD BAY
WILTON RIVER
MAINORU
GROOTE EYLANDT
ROSE RIVER
ROPER MOUTH
NORTH-EASTERN, NTH-CENTRAL AND WESTERN ARNHEM LAND
(Northern Territory of Australia)
journey of the Djaṯawul
scale
30 15 0 30 60
SIR EDW

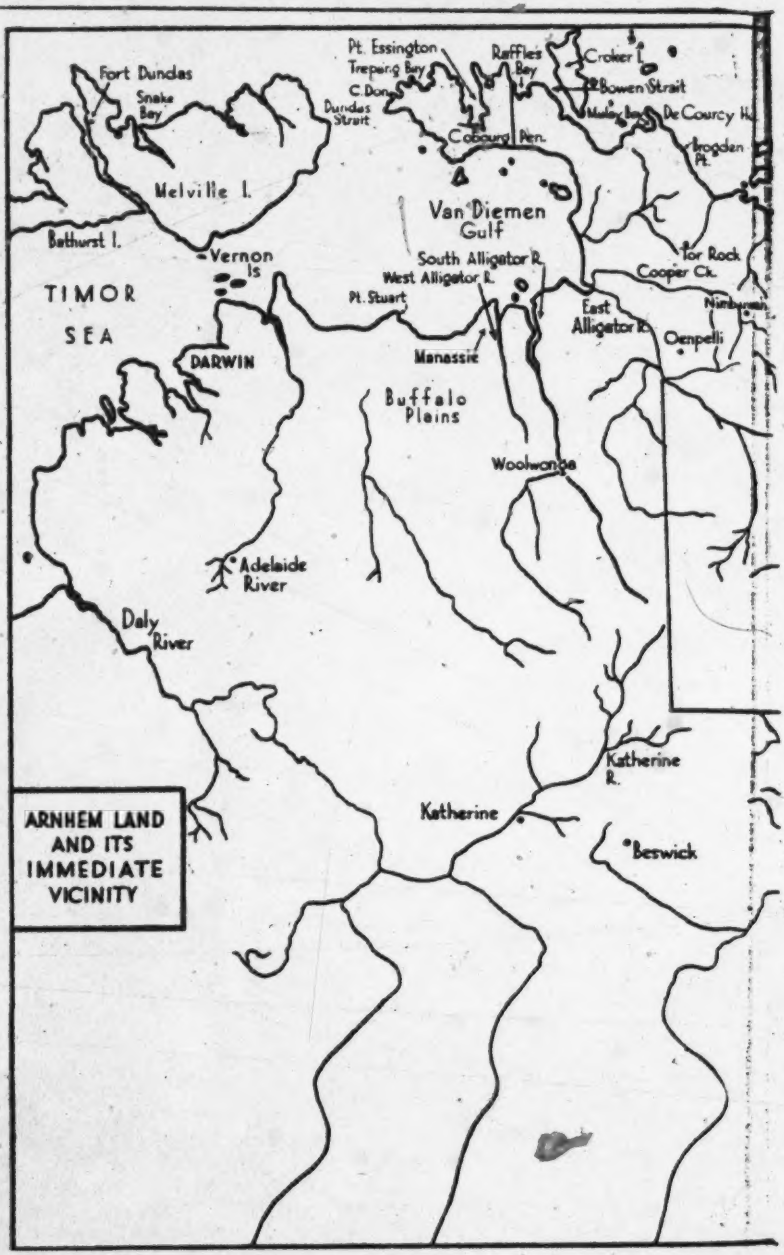
[p. 8(B)]

102●


WESSEL IS
RAL REGION
ENGLISH COMPANY IS
ELCHO I.
MELVILLE BAY
NORTH-EASTERN REGION
BREMER I.
YIRRKALLA
BUCKINGHAM BAY
CAPE ARNHEM
ARNHEM BAY
PORT BRADSHAW
WOBILINGA I.
CALEDON BAY
WYONGA RIVER
TRIAL BAY
BRALGU LIES SOMEWHERE IN THIS DIRECTION
GRINDALL BAY
BLUE MUD BAY
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
GROOTE EYLANDT
ROPER MOUTH
SIR EDWARD PELLEW GROUP

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

182



[End Map (A)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

102

[End Map (B)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

Figure 1

102 431 Map of Arnhem Land showing the area covered by the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle.

The chart which has been superimposed shows the orientation from the point of view of a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River area, but a similar orientation obtains for the whole of North Eastern Arnhem Land. Each horizon or *ḳumur* within the exchange cycle has its own characteristic goods or *gerri* which may be referred to, collectively, by the name of the quarter within the exchange cycle from which they come. Hence, *djalḳ*, which is actually the name of the sheath made from paperbark, in which flint spear heads are wrapped for protection, gives its name to "*ḳumur djalḳ*", the quarter of which these flint spear heads are the most characteristic and important *gerri*, and also to all other *gerri* received from that quarter.

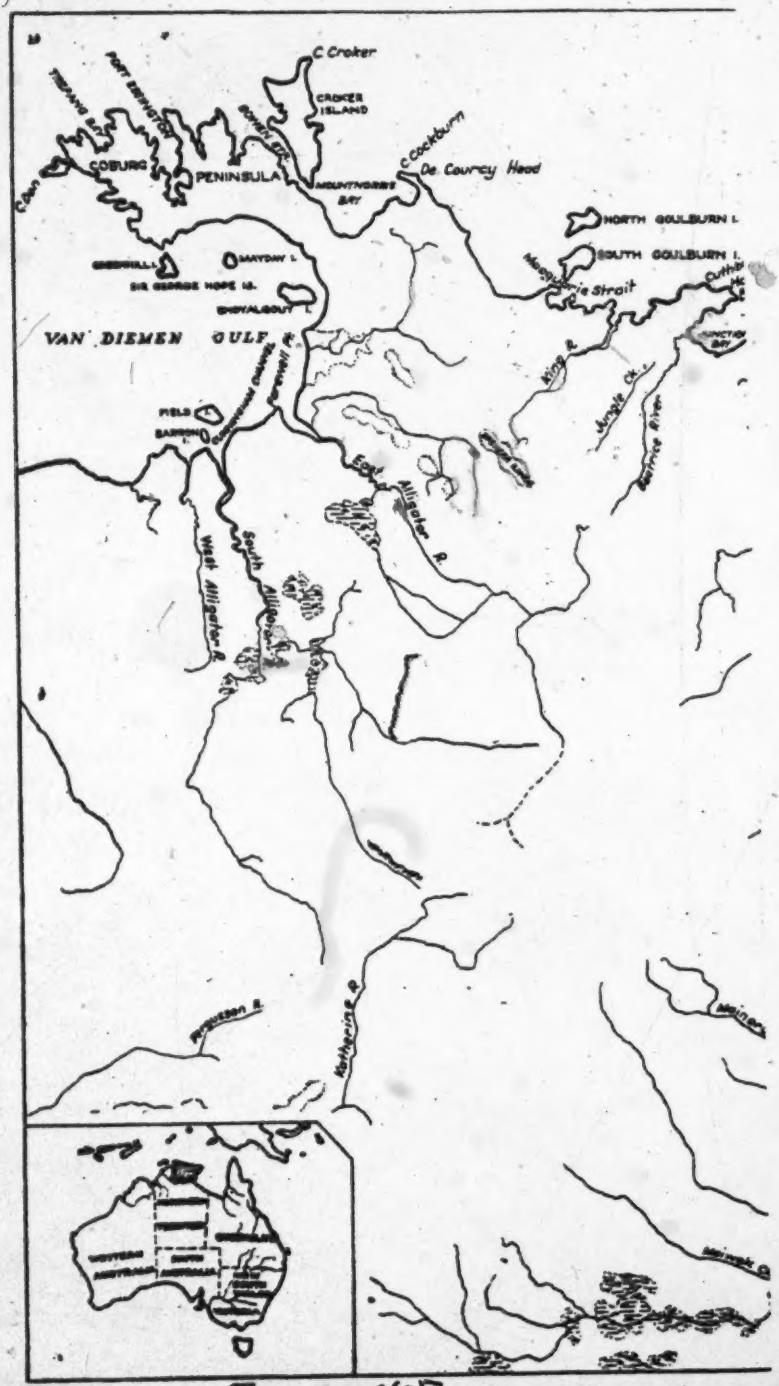
Every man within the exchange cycle receives gifts of the appropriate kind from exchange partners of life-long standing, holds these gifts for a short time, and then passes them on to partners in another quarter in which they are appropriate *gerri*, in reciprocation of gifts which he has received from them and in discharge of an obligation incurred. This exchange cycle, which goes on continuously, provides the structure, the mechanism and the driving force, for an extensive circulation of goods which accompanies it, and therefore has an economic importance which is often masked by the ceremonial aspect.

Inset: Map of Australia with the territory of Arnhem Land indicated by shading.

[Fwd Map 1(A)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

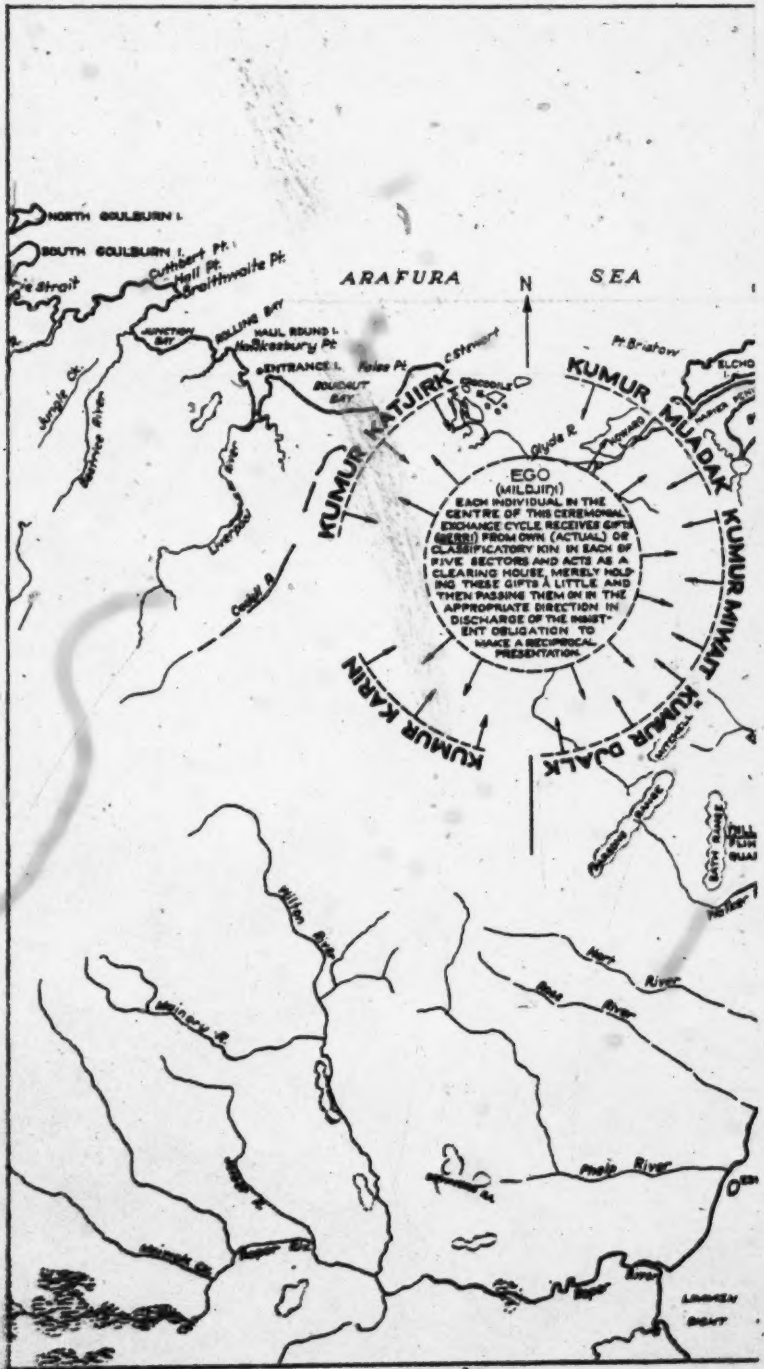
102
431
133



[End Map 1(B)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

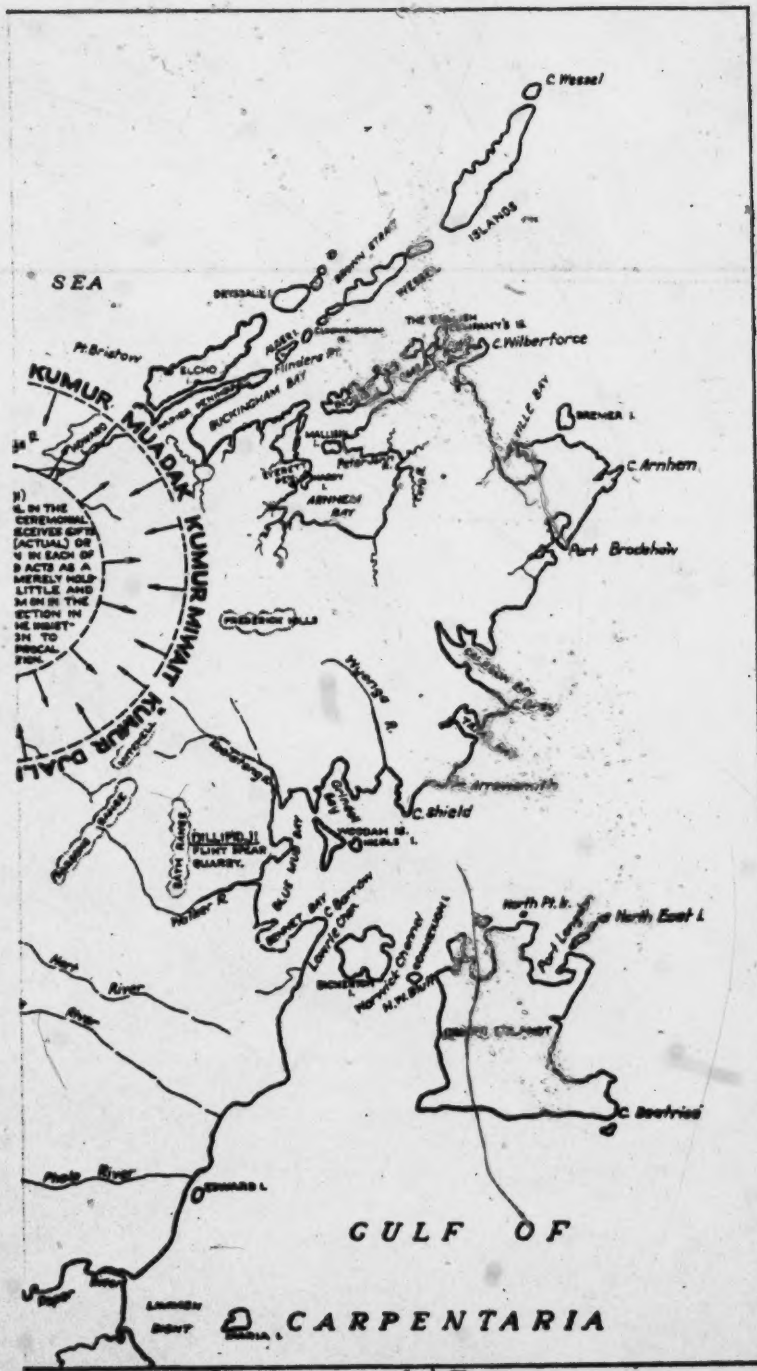
●102
133
431



[End Map 1 C]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

● 102
133
431



[End Map 1(D)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

Figure 2

● 102 Map of Arnhem Land illustrating some of the characteristic "*gerri*"
431 of each sector of the ceremonial exchange cycle and the principal
439 paths by which these *gerri* reach a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River area.

Boomerangs, coming from far to the south-west, as indicated by the arrows at lower left hand corner, may travel via either the Katherine or Wilton Rivers so that eventually they may enter North Central Arnhem Land from the west, across the Liverpool River, or from the south-east, by way of the Walker, Koolatong and Glyde Rivers.

Flint spear heads of a special type called "*ŋämbi*", which are made only at ŋillipidji near Blue Mud Bay, are shown wrapped neatly in paperbark sheaths called "*djalk*". Bundles of these spear heads enter from the *kumur djalk* quarter (south-east), or alternatively, by a more easterly route via the southern shorelines of Arnhem and Buckingham Bays. The typical way in which *gerri*, called collectively *mäthakäl* and *muadāk*, which were a heritage from the Macassar voyagers, reached Arnhem Land, and the route by which they entered the ceremonial exchange cycle is also shown. Numerous Macassar camp sites, at which shore stations were established, and where trepang was boiled and cured, are scattered along the northern coastline, notably at Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island and Miliŋimbi in the Crocodile Islands.

[End Map 2 (A)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

102
431
439

[End Map 2(B)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

102
431
439

ARAFURA
NORTH GOULBURN I.
SOUTH GOULBURN I.
Braithwaite Pt.
JUNCTION BAY
Wilton R.
Liverpool R.
BOUCAUT BAY
Cadell R.
N
KUMUR KATJIRK
KUMUR MADAK
KUMUR MIKNAT
KUMUR DJALK
KUMUR KARIN
EGO
(MILDJEP)
EACH INDIVIDUAL IN THE CENTRE OF THIS CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE CYCLE RECEIVES GIFTS (GERRI) FROM OWN (ACTUAL) OR CLASSIFICATORY KIN IN EACH OF FIVE SECTORS AND ACTS AS A CLEARING HOUSE, MERELY HOLDING THESE GIFTS A LITTLE AND THEN PASSING THEM ON IN THE APPROPRIATE DIRECTION IN DISCHARGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S OBLIGATION TO MAKE A RECIPROCAL PRESENTATION
Mainoru R.
Wilton R.
Roper River
Walker
Hod R.
Rose R.
Phelp R.
LIMMEN BIGHT

End Map 2(C)

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

●102
431
439

[Ex Map 2(D)]

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

and custom, then it appears that all the people of the area indicated belong to the one tribe, which for the time being must remain nameless.[4]

The widely separated locations of the hordes of the same *mala* present a puzzling problem. Probably migration, at least in part, accounts for it. An example of this is found in the Daiorrorr horde of the Berrkali *mala*, which within the lifetime of its present members migrated from the south of Buckingham Bay to its present location on the Goyder River. Possibly some evidence of migration is also found in the legends of the people, including the hordes along the northern coast and the islands adjacent thereto. In these legends a very large proportion of the mythological ancestors whose exploits they relate are represented as having lived and laboured and instituted the customs of the people in the neighbourhood of Caledon and Blue Mud Bays. In some cases these ancestors are represented as starting in at that point and travelling right across the country in a north-westerly direction to the opposite coast. These same legends, with local variations, are apparently found throughout the whole area, and the social organization and the customs of the people are of the one type.

T. THEODOR WEBB

Map of North-East Arnhem Land showing approximate location of aboriginal hordes.

[4]The peoples to the west of the line indicated differ from those referred to in both language and social organization.